1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Approved marriages

No marriages are compulsory in /Kung society. 582

Marriage is allowed with anyone to whom the incest taboo is not extended—with three degrees of approval: preference, permission, and toleration. Once a marriage has taken place, no differentiation in status is made. 602

The joking relationship is the differentiating factor between the preference and mere permission which the society accords. In preferred marriages the man and woman are name relatives who have had the joking relationship before marriage and have applied to each other the terms */gu/na* and *tũn*. This makes the marriage seem altogether right.

Marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply the terms *tsu* and *//ga* to each other and avoided joking before marriage, provided the incest taboo is not specifically extended to them; and, in the same way, marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply to each other the terms */go*, brother, and */kwi*, sister.

Marriage is tolerated, though rarely experienced, as I mentioned before, with persons to whom the name relationship and the application of kin terms is not extended; i.e. persons of other races, persons of other Bushman language groups, or other /Kung outside the region.

To contract a marriage with someone with whom one must not joke brings in a touch of the anomalous which deprives the /Kung of the perfect symmetry and consistency which so content them and make them feel secure in rightness. This society tolerates the anomaly, for obviously it must not forbid marriage in too many categories, and adjusts the joking status by giving to man and wife the joking relationship as soon as marriage takes place. 182 183 582 593 602

Though neither the sororate nor the levirate is compulsory, marriage is highly approved with the wife of a deceased brother or the husband of a sister. A man is expected to take care of his BrWi should she need his care, even though he is not required to marry her. Marriage with a WiSi or HuBr is also highly approved. Ego has had the joking relationship with these affines. 587 768

A marriage arrangement which the /Kung consider especially good is called */oa ku*. This means that an exchange is made between two bands: a boy and girl from one marry a girl and boy from the other. */Oa ku* is not a common practice. Bands as units have no authority in the arrangements of marriages, which is the duty of the parents, as we shall describe presently, and parents do not make the exchange between bands a major factor in their choices. If it happens to come about, however, the people are glad because each band thereby gains a person to replace the person lost and the bonds between the bands are strengthened. 583 619 [584]

Polygynous marriages

Polygyny is the ideal form of marriage among the /Kung. This is not a society in which prestige and wealth concentrate to give certain categories of men more power or right than others to acquire wives. Headmen and medicine men are held in esteem, but their positions do not in themselves entitle them to have extra wives or give them special dispensations. Wealth tends to be fairly well equalized. Everyone carries his or her own artifacts, the men on carrying-sticks over their shoulders, the women 595 554 556 [422] [482]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

837 the wives consent. This is regarded as a concern of the couples involved rather than a concern of society as a whole. One man said, ' If you want to sleep with someone's wife, you get him to sleep with yours, then neither of you goes after the other with poisoned arrows.'

[572] The word */kamheri* was used by ||Ao, one of the young hunters, to express his deep feeling of friendship for John Marshall. ' We are such friends that we are */kamheri* ', he said, but, as John had no wife to exchange, this remark had its funny side which delighted the men.

No actual instance of */kamheri* came to our attention and we failed in finding out if it is now practised. One man in Gam lent his first wife to a unmarried friend, one of the gossips told us, because he was in love with his second and did not care any longer for the first, but this was a mere deviation from the rules, not an instance of */kamheri*.

We heard of several irregular sexual unions in addition to the above. Rape did not appear in stories or gossip. Fornication must be very rare because there is practically no one to fornicate with. Almost all females are married except very young girls and leathery old grandmothers. Adultery is the usual form for irregular unions
684 to take. Adultery, however, is sharply limited by several deterrents. One deterrent is
837 the incest taboo, of course, which forbids extra-marital sexual relations as rigorously as it does marriage with persons to whom the taboo is extended. The same internalized sanctions induce obedience to this rule as to the marriage regulations. The same gradation of feeling probably exists, and we expect that people comply strictly within the kindred and among close affines and are no doubt less strict with name relatives.

Ease of divorce must exert a modifying influence on adulterous unions. If a
[586] married couple really want to change mates, nothing need deter them but the general difficulty of extricating themselves from the web of responsibilities which marriage entails.

In a sense, the impossibility of maintaining secrecy exerts a control over extra-
151 marital relations. There is no privacy in a /Kung werf and the vast veld is not a cover.
153 The very life of these people depends on their being trained from childhood to
182 look sharply at things and to take into their attention what they see, for they must observe the most minute marks on vegetation to distinguish from the matted grasses the almost hair-thin brown vine stems that come up from the edible roots. Hunters memorize visual impressions and are able to follow the tracks of an individual animal in the midst of a large herd in a way that seems to us miraculous. It may be a week after a hunt that they return to recover an arrow that missed, miles from the werf, remembering where it lay in the vast monotonous sameness of grass and bush. They register every person's footprints in their minds, more vividly I am sure than we do faces, and read in the sand who walked where and how long ago.

185 The /Kung value control of anger, upholding self-control as an ideal, giving it
578 group and individual approval and training for it. Despite this, volatile tempers sometimes flare and burst out of all control. And always at hand are the little poisoned
[411] arrows. They are formidable weapons. There is no antidote for the poison; at least our /Kung informants said they know none and told us of tragic deaths from the poison which would have been averted had they had an antidote.

684 Adultery, so exceedingly provocative of anger and vengeance, could be very

/135 cont./

114 accounts for the incompleteness and gaps in my data, defects which make themselves felt particularly in the last chapter. Thus, I could neither do the important section on linguistics nor make a collection of ethnological materials.

The observations and researches that I did undertake were repeatedly tested for their correctness to the best of my abilities. The possibility of error, of course, is nevertheless admitted without reservation.

Aminuis, August, 1908. Kaufmann.

General Observations

144 It is my conviction that the ǂAuin, as well as all other Kalahari Bushmen, do not represent a homogeneous race, but rather a people or, better still, several peoples who have lost their original character through mixture with one another and above all with peoples of other races (Bantu). At any rate, a number of Bergdamara [Bergdama] or Herero decidedly gives a stronger impression of derivation from the same mold than do the same number of Bushmen.

197 The linguistic differentiation of the individual tribes is sometimes so great that mutual intelligibility is impossible.

171 The apparent cultural homogeneity is probably based on the
182 uniformity of the landscape that everywhere surrounds them and on the living conditions (Kalahari culture).

There is no doubt that an intimate relationship of some kind
144 exists between the Hottentot and Bushmen. It may be that the
171 Bushmen are degenerate Hottentot with some admixture of foreign blood, or, on the other hand, that the Hottentot are Bushmen with foreign admixture who have emancipated themselves from the Kalahari culture.

[114] I believe I shall not be guilty of an indiscretion if I report
144 that the ethnographer Dr. Pöch shares this view with me. In a
197 private communication he writes to me from Kamelpan

/138 cont./

177 Since contact with the Whites was established, wars have
72 apparently declined considerably, but even today they exact a decidedly heavy toll.

22 The Auin is at the lowest stage of human development; he is exclusively a collector and hunter.

133 This way of life is dictated to him by the nature of his en-
137 vironment. This part of the Kalahari, where the watering places
182 are sometimes 100 kilometers apart and very limited in number, does not permit livestock raising, especially also since the tschama [sometimes spelled tsama, a kind of melon] enjoyed by the cattle is comparatively rare.

133 In the Auin region the plain dominates the landscape. Primary rocks rise up here and there only along the river banks. So-called dunes give the landscape a gently hilly character, especially in the vicinity of the rivers (dry river beds which carry
137 water only after violent rains). The ground cover alternates between grass, shrub, and tree steppe and dense undergrowth. The
132 amount of precipitation is very small; the lack of sufficient statistical data makes it impossible to give a more precise estimate.

B. Dwellings and Furnishings

342 The typical form of the dwelling is the windscreen, in other words, the most primitive form of human habitation, which scarcely deserves the designation "hut." Its construction is completed in a few minutes. A few twigs are stuck loosely into the ground at the thicker end in a semicircle and propped against each other at the branching end. I have never seen the supports firmly fastened to one another, although I have examined several hundred huts. Grass is thrown on the framework, and the construction is finished. During the dry season the structures are usually built even more hastily and sometimes consist merely of a few bundles of grass that have been thrown loosely between the twigs of a living bush. The entire structure is often scarcely a meter high and has no roof. It is thus a genuine windscreen, intended to protect its inhabitants from drafts while they are lying down.

If the settlement remains at a particular place for only a few days, the people content themselves with the shadow of some

[753] 157 [23 cont.] THE SICK BUSHMEN LIE SILENT AND patient, but a case of illness in a village upsets all its members, partly out of compassion, and partly out of fear of the spirits of sickness. The modes of conduct that I have described already permit certain conclusions concerning the structure of the psychological personality among the Bushmen. It is certainly impossible to compare the mental set of an intellectualized, highly domesticated European with that of these primitive hunters. There is absolutely no difference, however, between the simple European and the natives in their conception of life and their manner of 105 reacting to environmental influences. As I have already explained 182 in another place, we may speak of a law of inertia in cultural development (1). The primitive man is perfectly aware, perhaps

1. V. Lebzelter, "Persönlichkeit und Weltanschauung bei den Eingeborenen Südwestafrikas Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Leogesellschaft, 1932.

instinctively, perhaps by tradition, that the quantity of energy possessed by every individual is limited and that each expenditure of energy means wear on the life machine and, hence, the shortening of life. The individual, therefore, strives to attain, with the least possible expenditure of energy, what to his mind represents an optimal adaptation to the conditions of life, and to maintain this state of adaptation with the least possible expenditure of energy. The great difference between European civilization and many primitive cultures, including that of the Bushmen, lies in the fact that European culture as a whole finds itself in an unstable condition, which makes the attainment of an optimal state of adaptation possible to only a few of its members. Bushman culture, on the other hand, represents an optimal state of adaptation that can be automatically attained by each individual Bushman. In its way, therefore, it is more perfect than ours. No other people and no other race, given the same technical means and the same environmental conditions, could achieve a better adaptation. One can even speak of such an adaptation with respect to the spiritual culture. The life of the Bushman is made secure in this life

[23 cont.]

105 and in the beyond by his traditional conceptions, and the preserva-
182 tion of this adaptation, in the spiritual as well as in the material realm, is achieved by means of a strict selection of all the cultural goods offered from the outside. This selection is consciously carried out. Put briefly: the Bushmen have hitherto refused higher
[177] economic forms not because they do not possess the ability to handle them, but because they did not want to adopt them. If the material preconditions collapse, then they adopt, step by step or all at once, totally different ways of life, as is shown by their Bantuization in Ovamboland and probably also by the formation of the Hottentot people through the adoption of livestock raising on the part of a number of Bushman tribes. Their average intelli-
[153] gence is no less than that of any other race. Every Bushman knows
[184] the entire spiritual heritage of his tribe.

Of the same Bushmen, F. Schinz (2) says:

[113] 2. F. Schinz, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Leipzig, 1891.

181 "The Bushman is always faithful to his master and will follow him anywhere without pay; one need not worry about leaving him alone at the wagon and will rarely have to reprimand him for dishonesty. All travelers and hunters unanimously praise
[593] the great affection that exists between parents and children, which goes so far that the father or mother will sacrifice themselves in order to save their child. I was told [24] by the hunter L. that at the Okovanggo he once witnessed a scene in which a young Bushman, who was one of the members of the hunting expedition, was in danger of being trampled to death by an angry elephant that stormed toward him. At the last moment when his paralyzed companions had already given the boy up for lost, his father sprang forth and flung his throwing club at the forehead of the enormous animal. The elephant now turned against his new attacher and furiously crushed him under his feet, giving the son the opportunity to flee."

[114] My observations are fully in accord with those of Dornan (1)

[113] 1. Dornan, Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari, London, 1925.

B /260 cont./

In addition to the Bushman language, the Heikum of the 191 Omatako also speak Nama, whereas the Kung of the Kaukau ● 182 Veld speak only their Bushman language. The reason for this 133 is readily seen if one realizes that the Kaukau Veld is an oasis enclosed on all sides by the large waterless stretches of the Kalahari, and hence is visited only during the rainy season by a few Betschuana hunters, but otherwise is completely isolated. Most of the Bushmen whom we encountered in the Kaukau Veld had never seen a white man prior to our arrival.

B H 192 601

Word List and Grammatical Outline of the Heikum and Kung Language

1. Persons

English	Heikum	Kung	Nama
Human being	tschu	tschu	Khóib
Man	tschu n|ō (|o = männlich)*	tschu n|ō	áob
Woman	tsau	tschau	tarás
Son	daba |oma	daba |oma	|oab
Daughter	daba tsauma	daba tschauma	|oas
Brother	tsng	tsng	|gasab
My brother	mé tsng	me tsng	—
Sister	tsau tsng	tsau tsng	|gas
Father	ombá	ombā	dadáb
Mother	mdei	medei	máma
Grandfather	omba n|ā (n|a = alt)**	omba n|ā	aúda
B H Grandmother	tschau |á	tschau |á	aúmama
Master	gaucha	gaucha	gáob
192 Captain of a settlement	tschu gaucha	tschu gaucha	—
Servant	ǂēi	tschu nǂoa	|ān
Herero	Damá	Damá	Damán
Betschuana	Birin	ǂgabé	Birin
Ovambo	|ave	—	—

*männlich, "male" **alt, "old"

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

ugly, slovenly, or wanton. The women retaliate, perhaps accusing the men of being worthy only of castration or of unfaithful wives. We noticed that the /Kung do not call each other sons of bitches. They are not concerned with lineage.

It is not thought proper to make blatant or insulting sexual jokes with old persons. The deference which is shown to aged persons is expressed by moderation, and the joking relationship between an old person and a considerably younger person, especially between grandparents and grandchildren, becomes a cosy friendly intimacy without the sexual emphasis.

Though the /Kung enjoy the joking relationship, it was our impression that their primary concern lay in the prohibition against joking. They said it would be 'madness' to joke with persons they should not joke with. When they meet strangers they do not dare to joke until they find out whether or not it is proper for them to do so. They gave us /Kung names. This placed us in the scheme of things and people could know what their status was with us.

The /Kung say they 'fear' (*koa*) to joke when they should not and they 'fear' (*koa*) the persons with whom joking is forbidden. The word *koa* is the same word that they use when they say they fear a lion or a mamba. They also use it to mean avoid. We think it holds the same combination of fear and respect that our word holds when we say we fear the Lord.

A /Kung told us that joking was not only amusing but that it served a good purpose in teaching people, young men especially, to hold their tempers and to have poise in their social relations. We thought that joking served a good purpose in providing an outlet in laughter for aggression and various social restraints, but we wondered if it had not primarily been developed as a response to restraints upon sexual intercourse. Incest must be a concern among a people who live in small bands of consanguineous kin and close affines, bands which are isolated for the most part within their own territories except for more or less infrequent visits to other bands. The restraints which are considered to be good and necessary may be strengthened by the symbol of avoidance of sexual joking. Respect due to a parent has perhaps come to be associated with this symbol and this may account for joking being restricted with parents of both sexes. It seems that respect in general is not required between siblings; only sexual restraint is required and this is symbolized by the restriction in joking imposed on siblings of opposite sex, whereas ego may joke with a sibling of the same sex. It is possible that the culture allows joking between grandparents and grandchildren (with the rather few exceptions when the factor of the name intervenes to classify them in the non-joking category) because joking is associated with a welcome ease and intimacy of relationship and the great difference in age removes the necessity of symbolizing sexual restraint between them.

The Name-Relationship as a Factor in Social Consolidation

The /Kung believe that the name is somehow a part of the entity of a person and that when one is named for a person one partakes of that person's entity in some way and in some degree. Informants could give us no further elucidation of this belief.

It seems evident that, when incorporated into the system of kinship terminology, the belief has produced the homonymous method of applying terms. It is our conjecture that the homonymous method was added to the system after the generational method had been established.

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

602 there at once called him *ju dole*. He was in haste to say that he had heard that the father
of one of the people at Khadum had the same name as his father and that another had
609 a brother named Gao. ' Oh,' said the Khadum people, in effect, ' so you are Gao's
/gu!na ', and they took him to their fire and gave him a present of edible gum.

602 The name connexions of the /Kung of Nyae Nyae extend throughout the region.
Thinking of Gautscha Pan as approximately the centre, the name connexions extend
619 about 80 miles to the south, and include the /Kung who live at Gum and at a few
small water-holes south of Gum. To the north of Gautscha Pan they extend about 75
182 miles to Samangaigai, and about 100 miles to Cho/ana, and may be said now to touch
upon Khadum, 115 miles from Gautscha Pan. The country to the west, between
Gautscha Pan and the farmed area of South West Africa, is waterless and uninhabited.
To the east the /Kung name connexions reach some 60 or 80 miles to the cattle posts
of Chwana and Herero at Kai Kai and Kubi, where some /Kung work as herdsmen
and others visit and trade. The /Kung who live in this region are not *ju dole* to each
other. The name-relationship makes them feel they are one people.

619 But there are edges to this sense of being one people. At Karakuwise to the
north-west, about 100 miles away from the centre of the Nyae Nyae area, and
at Nuragas, about 200 miles away, there are /Kung Bushmen. Although none of
the Nyae Nyae people have been there, the people of Nyae Nyae know that those
people speak the same language. However, the Karakuwise and the Nuragas people
are distant, and they are *ju dole*. The people of Nyae Nyae say that they hear that
the people of Nuragas put a strange poison into the pipes they give you to smoke
which makes you become as thin as a stick and then die. The people of Nyae Nyae do
not know the names of the people at Nuragas.

Résumé

000 LA TERMINOLOGIE DE LA PARENTÉ CHEZ LES BOSCHIMANS /KUNG

Les Boschimans /Kung sont des chasseurs et des ramasseurs nomades, qui ont eu très peu de contacts avec d'autres tribus ou avec des Européens; ils vivent en petites bandes de parents consanguins et d'affins proches, qui sont, pour la plupart, isolés à l'intérieur de leurs propres territoires, sauf pour des visites plus ou moins rares par d'autres bandes. Le système /Kung de terminologie de parenté présente deux aspects: d'après l'un, les termes sont appliqués suivant la situation biologique des personnes; d'après l'autre, les personnes sont classées avec d'autres, du fait qu'elles ont les mêmes noms. Du point de vue terminologique, deux personnes quelconques ne peuvent être apparentées simultanément de plus d'une façon, bien qu'elles puissent changer leur rapport terminologique par le mariage, ou, parfois, par le changement de leurs noms. En général, les termes employés indiquent l'âge biologique relatif des personnes qui s'appliquent mutuellement des termes de parenté. Les mêmes termes sont utilisés en s'adressant à une personne et en y faisant allusion. Pour les besoins de l'analyse, on peut distinguer entre deux systèmes de terminologie de parenté: le système A s'applique à des parents consanguins et aux personnes classées avec eux, soit par suite d'un rapport entre leurs noms, soit parce qu'elles se sont mariées avec ces parents. Le système B s'applique aux affins. Il y a trois catégories de termes dans le système A, selon leur emploi entre: (1) père ou mère et enfant; (2) ' siblings ' (enfants de mêmes père et mère), et (3) générations. Dans cette dernière catégorie, la personne plus âgée emploie invariablement une forme diminutive en s'adressant, ou en faisant allusion, à la personne

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

181 the Bantus, who are staunch and brave and in the past have waged great wars. But Bushmen deplore and misunderstand bravery. The heroes of their legends are always little jackals who trick, lie, and narrowly escape, rather than larger, bolder [538] animals such as lions (who in the Kalahari are something of a master race). In the Bushmen's stories, lions are always being scalded, singed, duped, cuckolded, or killed.

181 Bushmen cannot afford to fight with each other and almost ●182 never do because their only real weapon is their arrow poison, 578 422 for which there is no antidote. But even were they to disregard this danger, Bushmen would try not to fight because they have no mechanism in their culture for dealing with disagreements other than to remove the causes of the disagreements. Their hold on life is too tenuous to permit quarreling among themselves. A Bushman will go to any lengths to avoid making other Bushmen jealous of him, and for this reason the few possessions that Bushmen have are constantly circling among the members of their groups. No one cares to keep a particularly good knife too long, even though he may want it desperately, because he will become the object of envy; as he sits by himself polishing a fine edge on the blade he will hear the soft voices of the other men in his band saying: "Look at him there, admiring his knife while we have nothing." Soon somebody will ask him for his knife, for everybody would like to have it, and he will give it away. Their culture insists that they share with each other, and it has never happened that a Bushman failed to share objects, food, or water with the other members of his band, for without very rigid co-operation Bushmen could not survive the famines and droughts that the Kalahari offers them.

181 609 The other reason for their submissiveness is that Bushmen, whose possessions are only sticks and bones, beads made of eggshell and fragments of leather, are overwhelmed by the

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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YOUNG MOTHER bows her head as ornament for ear lobe is twisted to shape.

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ship between man and his natural environment. In such a relationship, two directions of cause and effect are implied. These two directions may be understood by two terms—adaption and control. Adaption means the effect wrought by the environment upon the body or the culture of man. Control is the effect wrought upon the environment by man, his body and his culture. In the one case, man conforms to the environment. In the other, man conforms the environment to his needs.

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THERE IS no ecological situation where either adaptation or control prevails to the exclusion of the other, for the fact of man's presence changes an environment, and the most effective technology, the most developed society, are—in part—responses to an environment. Every ecological relationship is a welter of compromise. Yet, there are extremes. If we take Western technological culture as one extreme—with control prevailing and America the exponent—the !Kung might be considered the opposite extreme, for the !Kung control their environment scarcely at all.

To the !Kung, in their environment, there are available a certain number of natural resources, in a certain geographical pattern. There are also available a certain number of !Kung. They have a culture. Living within their culture, they are able to exploit their environment. The first aspect of this ecological relationship is the fairly obvious relationship between !Kung technology and environment.

[p. 34]

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With considerable empirical knowledge, the !Kung have arrived at workable solutions to the problems of subsistence. By means of their technology, they have managed to satisfy their basic needs and their many wants of life (at least, they satisfied them until they were exposed to the wealth of white men). The fact that their population is limited because of their technology is one result of this adaptation—of which infanticide is an occasional expression. That they live to all intents and purposes from day to day—having no real measure of surplus in the form of stored crops and

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● 182 beasts ready to slaughter—is another indication that the !Kung have largely adapted to their environment. But the contrasting fact that the !Kung live in *Nyae Nyae* as easily as they do also indicates some measure of environmental control.

THE more complex aspects of the !Kung ecological relationship exist in areas other than their simple technology. That the !Kung are able to exploit their environment with a certain degree of efficiency is due in some measure to the structure of their society. Thus, the second aspect of the

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ecological relationship is this one: the relationship between a certain number of natural resources, arranged in a certain environment, and a society that has developed in the presence of these resources and whose members are dependent on them.

Of course, their society did not come into being because the !Kung needed it to exploit their environment, nor is that society shaped only in accordance with environmental dictates. Indeed, some elements of !Kung society seem to exist in spite of the environment. There is reason to believe that their society has not basically

[p. 37]

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changed through periods when there was more water, more game, and probably more *veldkos*—the wild vegetable products of the land, gathered by the women of the bands – in South Africa, although this point might be debated on grounds that the !Kung depended more on hunting in previous periods. But it is that aspect of !Kung social structure, the functioning of which clearly seems to facilitate exploitation of their environment by means of their technology, that we shall discuss. These manifestations appear primarily adaptive in nature, although control is also discernible.

[p. 38]

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the point, for the slightest prick, the least bit of poison getting in such a wound, would cause death.

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Depending on where the poisoned arrow hits, a small buck can die in a morning, a man in a few hours, a giraffe in four to five days. There is nothing that can be done for a man, short of amputating a limb or immediately excising the wound and cutting the nearby flesh to let the blood drain. Yet, the poison has no effect upon the game's meat. One can even eat the mixture with relative impunity; it must enter the bloodstream directly to be deadly.

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As subsistence activities, the men's and women's roles—hunting and gathering—are of unequal weight. Almost eighty per cent of the people's food is *veldkos*, more abundant than game in *Nyae Nyae*, and far more easily acquired. If from one summer to the next, a man kills twelve antelope, he feels he has had a good year.

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But, despite its relatively minor subsistence value, hunting is extremely important in !Kung culture. It has developed its body of technology, acquired a large tradition of beliefs, fostered a wealth of knowledge, and

Il: Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

MEAT FROM THE CHASE is shared by all among the band. An old woman, *below*, is skinning her portion of an ostrich.

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become both the measure of a man's ability and a test of his readiness to marry. Part of the explanation may come from the passion in hunting. Like their fires, the tales of hunting burn brightly for the !Kung in the night, warming their memories. Of equal or greater significance is the !Kung craving for meat and undoubtedly for protein. Unlike the sharing of *veldkos*, limited to the nuclear family, a complex system of distribution insures that everyone in the *werft* will get a share of all game killed. This is done, they say, simply to prevent jealousy and the inevitable renunciations that go with it. The !Kung declare "We are a jealous people" and they try to keep jealousy at a minimum, for they fear it.

Still another aspect of hunting—perhaps the most important in terms of subsistence—is the by-products it provides. Sinew is used for thongs

[p. 56]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

can afford to be a little luxurious. They rub it on themselves and on their implements and they eat it. ≠Toma said that, when he had eland fat to give, he took shrewd note of certain objects he might like to have and gave their owners especially generous gifts of fat.

Real property and the sources of food and water are owned by the headman for the band and cannot be given away. However, meat, once it is distributed after the hunt, and veldkos, once it is gathered, become private property and may be given. Artifacts are privately owned by the individual man, woman, or child, as outrightly owned if received as a gift as if made by the individual. They borrow and lend a great deal—in itself this is one of the ways they support each other and aid themselves in maintaining social solidarity—but this does not blur the clarity of ownership. Each object acquires some markings of its own from the maker and from usage. It is easy for the /Kung, with their highly developed powers of observation and visual memory, to keep track of the commonest objects, know the ownership, and remember the history of the gifts.

As far as we know, no artifacts or materials are taboo as gifts. For instance, women may be given weapons, although it is taboo for women to touch them.

In quantity the gifts varied. One which /Ti/kay gave to ≠Toma was considered generous. It was a fine ostrich egg shell headband, three ostrich egg shells, and a well-tanned duiker skin as soft as suede. Another generous gift consisted of a knife, a spear, and a triple string of traded white European beads. Often gifts were less. The feelings persons have for each other, the degree of their past indebtedness, what they happen to possess and can give, determine the generosity of the gift.

The acquisition *per se* of the objects was seldom, I believe, of primary importance to most individuals in gift-giving—that is, if the objects were their own artifacts. As the /Kung come into more contact with Europeans—and this is already happening—
—they will feel sharply the lack of our things and will need and want more. It makes them feel inferior to be without clothes when they stand among strangers who are clothed. But in their own life and with their own artifacts they were comparatively free from material pressures. Except for food and water (important exceptions!) of which the Nyae Nyae /Kung have a sufficiency—but barely so, judging from the fact that all are thin though not emaciated—they all had what they needed or could make what they needed, for every man can and does make the things that men make and every woman the things that women make. No one was dependent upon acquiring objects by gift-giving.

They lived in a kind of material plenty because they adapted the tools of their living to materials which lay in abundance around them and which were free for anyone to take (wood, reeds, bone for weapons and implements, fibres for cordage, grass for shelters), or to materials which were at least sufficient for the needs of the population. The Nyae Nyae /Kung had hides enough for garments and bags; they kept extra hides when they needed them for new garments or when they wanted them for trade; otherwise they ate them. The /Kung could always use more ostrich egg-shells for beads to wear or trade with, but, as it is, enough are found for every woman to have a dozen or more shells for water containers—all she can carry—and a goodly number of bead ornaments.

In their nomadic hunting-gathering life, travelling from one source of food to

182 431 another through the seasons, always going back and forth between food and water, they carry their young children and their belongings. With plenty of most materials at hand to replace artifacts as required, the /Kung have not developed means of permanent storage and have not needed or wanted to encumber themselves with surpluses or duplicates. They do not even want to carry one of everything. They borrow what they do not own. With this ease, they have not hoarded, and the [556] accumulation of objects has not become associated with status. Instead of keeping things, they use them to express generosity and friendly intent, and to put people [159] under obligation to make return tokens of friendship. And, even more specifically, in my opinion, they mitigate jealousy and envy, to which they are prone, by passing things on to others. These are the objectives in gift-giving.

431 Except, as ≠Toma said, that it would be surprising to see a man give a present to a woman who was not related to him (and vice versa, I imagine), anyone may give to anyone. Degree or kind of kinship or affinity, having the joking relationship or lacking it, impose no requirements or restrictions, nor does status in the community in a conventional way. We did hear people say, however, that a headman may feel that he should lean well to the generous side in his giving, for his position as head- [602] man sets him out from the others a little and he wants whatever attention this attracts not to be envious. Someone remarked that this could keep a headman poor.

The times of giving are determined almost entirely by the individual's convenience. The /Kung do not know their birthdays or anniversaries and have no special days of the year which they mark by giving gifts. Gifts are required by convention on only three ceremonial occasions. The type or quantity of the gift is not patterned but it should be generous. The occasions are betrothals and weddings, when the [585] parents exchange gifts and give to the young couple, and the ceremony of a baby's first haircut, when the */gu/na*, the person for whom the baby is named, should give [852] him a fine present.

Relatives give to young people with the idea of setting them up in life. Gao Beard gave a spear and a kaross to his FaSiHuSo, saying it was his duty to see that the boy got some things because among the boy's relatives he was the most able to do so. The boy's father was very old, he explained. People expect to wait a long time for young people to make return gifts.

The two rigid requirements in gift-giving are that one must not refuse a proffered gift and that one must give in return. Demi said that, even if he might prefer not to be obligated to someone, he would accept and prepare to make his return gift. If a gift were to be refused, he continued, the giver would be terribly angry. He would [598] say, ' Something is very wrong here.' This could involve whole groups in tensions, bad words, taking sides—even ' a talk ' might occur—just what the /Kung do not want. Demi said it does not happen: a /Kung never refuses a gift. And a /Kung does not fail to give in return. ≠Toma said that would be ' neglecting friendship '. A person would know that others thought him ' far-hearted ' and ' this would worry him '.

In reciprocating one does not give the same object back again but something of comparable value. The interval of time between receiving and reciprocating varied from a few weeks to a few years. Propriety requires that there be no unseemly haste. The giving must not look like trading.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

7

THE !KUNG BUSHMEN OF THE KALAHARI DESERT

about the chapter

For the anthropologist, the Bushmen are one of the world's most intriguing peoples, as they are virtually unique physically, linguistically, and culturally. The physical anthropologist cannot place the Bushmen in any one of the recognized major racial groupings: Caucasoid, Mongoloid, or Negroid. Similarly, linguists have placed their language in a category, Khoisan, apart from other African language families. The velar "clicks" that characterize Khoisan languages are apparently found nowhere in the world outside of Africa.

The culture of the Bushmen shows the imprint of their harsh and barren desert habitat, and, as Marshall points out, the ethos of their culture is dominated by the quest for survival. Many Bushman cultural institutions are molded by certain ecological constants: water, the location of water holes, water-storing plants, and other edible wild plants, the movements of game. The size of the band, the daily cycle of labor, the low incidence of polygyny, are all aspects of culture marked in this way. Certain other Bushman institutions, however, are not simply cultural creations passively molded by habitat; rather, they give the Bushmen better than even odds to defy the limitations which their habitat imposes. Such culture patterns are their skillful hunting techniques, their institutionalized patterns of sharing, and their strong striving for cooperation and harmony. Few cultures give the observer such a rich opportunity to study the two-way interaction between habitat and culture.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

guages, some now virtually extinct, were characterized by a fifth click made with the lips, called the kiss click (⊙). In addition to clicks, the Bushman languages have tones: high, middle, low, rising, and falling. Oswin Köhler has given special attention to tone as well as to other features in his study of Bushman languages, especially Barakwenga (Köhler 1962).

Each of the large divisions of the Bushman languages—the northern, central, and southern divisions (see Bleek 1956)—differs markedly from the others. Within each group are several languages, sometimes resembling each other enough to be considered merely dialects of the same language, but more often differing so widely as to be distinct, mutually quite unintelligible languages. The !Kung described in this chapter (Köhler's and Westphal's !Xũ) belong to the northern group.

HABITAT • The Kalahari Desert, some 1200 miles long, with a mean high altitude of about 3000 feet, forms part of the great plateau of southern Africa. It is a basin in form, covered with wind-blown sands, sometimes red, sometimes white, to a depth of 300 to 400 feet. The underlying rock crops out rarely in ridges and a few low hills.

Stamp (1953:78) classifies the Kalahari as a semidesert. Its conditions are not the most extreme. Our expeditions recorded daytime air temperatures in the shade up to 115° F. and sand temperatures in the sun up to 140° F. In winter the temperature at night falls below freezing but for most of the year the nights are temperate. Although they seem acclimated to the heat, the Bushmen appear to find the colder temperatures very uncomfortable and shiver violently if they are away from their fires when the cold south winds blow.[6]

The rainfall, which comes in summer thunderstorms—6 to 10 inches, increasing in the better-watered parts toward the north, according to Wellington (1955:61)—though slight, is sufficient to sustain a varied drought-resistant vegetation, and the country is covered with grass, brush, and scant small trees. In the northern and northwestern parts, the trees are more numerous and taller and include shivi groves and nut-bearing mangetti—important sources of food to the Bushmen. And in all the areas of the desert that Bushmen inhabit are found edible plants, in scant, far-apart patches perhaps, but existing. The vegetation, furthermore, provides material for fires, shelter, weapons, implements, tanning, poison for arrows, and juices (for example tsama melons, on which these people can live when there is no water). In short, this desert provides the things that make life possible; otherwise the Bushmen would be dead or somewhere else.

The desert is a forceful shaper of the outlines of Bushman culture, and both the possibilities it permits and the limitations it imposes have been meaningfully summarized by Robert Story in a personal communication:

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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A lack of permanent water is probably the most trying of the difficulties which beset the Bushmen of the present day in the country which shelters them. However, it is this very disadvantage which has ensured their survival, for while they have been dispossessed of their country and exterminated in the less arid parts, in the "Great Thirst Land of the Kalahari" they have been comparatively safe from their European and Bantu enemies. The austerity and hardships of the Kalahari are offset to some extent by its deep level mantle of sand, which prevents run-off of the rainwater and makes it readily available for plant growth. "Clay, for example, is as dry as dust to the plant when it contains 18% of water, while most sands are very nearly saturated with 18% of water" (Schantz 1911). This means not only that the sandy soil can support more luxuriant plants in greater variety, but also that storage organs are common among them, for drainage in sand is so rapid and thorough that shallow-rooted plants at least are in a stronger position if they are able to collect and store the water before it sinks into the deeper layers.

Although some of the storage organs are poisonous, the Bushmen still have numerous edible bulbs, tubers and roots at their disposal. Thanks again to the sand, they can harvest these quickly and easily with wooden digging-sticks which would be inadequate in a heavy or stony soil. Other storage organs which they do not eat because of bitterness or high tannin or fibre content are nevertheless important indirectly through being eaten by the various antelopes that are the Bushmen's meat supply.

Hunting is easier as well, for as there could be few better tracking surfaces than the Kalahari sand and, as a wounded animal can thus be followed with very little risk of loss, hard-hitting weapons and careful aim are not necessary. Instead, the Bushmen use small poisoned arrows which have the advantage of being effective on any part of the body and of bringing death as certainly to big game as to small.

LINGUISTIC AND BAND GROUPINGS • The major groupings among the Bushmen cannot correctly be called tribes; they are, rather, linguistic groupings and the names by which they have been traditionally known by Europeans refer to language: for example, !Kung-speaking Bushmen, Naron-speaking Bushmen. The Bushmen themselves and their Bantu neighbors use a multitude of names by which they refer to various combinations of local groupings. Our own tentative and incomplete comparisons lead us to say that the language groups differ from one another markedly in some customs while they are much the same in others.

The language groups have no political unity among or within themselves. The only social unit larger than the family is the autonomous band composed of several families and headed by a headman (see "Political Organization," p. 267). Each of the major groupings has many bands within it.

The Bushmen whose social structure I describe in this chapter are a group of !Kung-speakers who call themselves *ju /ðassi* and who live in the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. It is a region of about 10,000

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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square miles, centered approximately at Gautscha (about 19°48'30" S, 20°34'36" E). The region lies for the most part in South West Africa, but extends into the Bechuanaland Protectorate to a number of Tswana and Herero settlements along the border. We arbitrarily call this particular stretch of country a region because it is a region in the minds of the Bushmen. In it are some 27 bands living independently in their own traditional way and 9 groups employed by the Tswana and Herero—a !Kung population of about 1000. These !Kung intermarry. They have not formally structured the region as an endogamous unit, but they remain within it by custom and preference. They know there are other !Kung-speakers living to the north and northwest of them, but consider them strangers, as they do the Auen-speaking and Naron-speaking Bushmen to the south.

ECONOMY

It is vividly apparent that among the !Kung Bushmen, ethos, or "the spirit which actuates manners and customs," is survival. Their time and energies are almost wholly given to this task, for life in their environment requires that they spend their days mainly in procuring food. The band organization is important to their survival, and, to secure the mutual support and companionship that it affords, they seek to regulate their social actions to reduce tension and potential hostility among the individuals within the band. They also strive to avoid the possibility of conflict between bands. Similarly, in their religious concepts and practices, the emphasis is on survival in this life on earth, not a looking forward to the eternal life in the sky after death.

WILD PLANT FOODS (*veldkos*) • The !Kung of the Nyae Nyae region have no agriculture. They subsist mainly on wild plant foods, which we refer to by the convenient Afrikaans word *veldkos*. The game the hunters of a band manage to kill is an important part of their diet and much desired, but it is by no means the daily sustenance. In this region the !Kung know more than a hundred different kinds of veldkos (cf. Story 1958). Several species of berries exist, dry and hard for the most part. A few fruits ripen suddenly in a short season. Leaves, resembling spinach, make a spring salad for a short time. Morsels of gums from certain trees are cherished like sweets. Tsama melons and wild cucumbers grow here but do not abound in this region as they do in some other parts of the Kalahari where some Bushman groups can live on them for certain seasons without having access to any water. Most important to the daily sustenance of the Nyae Nyae !Kung are the edible underground roots, tubers, and storage organs of certain drought-resistant plants. We observed the gathering of 23 different kinds of these; doubtless there are more. In addition to the roots and tubers, there are sev-

Gathering Mangetti Nuts

eral large groves of mangetti trees (*Ricinodendron rautanenii* Schinz) in the region, all on great waterless white sand dunes, and one extensive area in which *tsi* grows. *Tsi* (*Bauhinia esculenta* Burch) is the seed of the vine that runs along on the surface of the ground. Both mangetti nuts and *tsi* are excellent foods, rich in oils and proteins, and so important to the !Kung that they organize their lives to a considerable extent around them.

Each band, according to !Kung social structure, owns and lives within what we call a territory. The band, through its headman (in a way to be explained later), owns the veldkos and water resources within its territory. The territories are varied in size and shape and sometimes consist of portions that are not even contiguous. The boundaries are vague, for the need to draw fine boundary lines is not great. In the interior of the region, where water is so scant, in roughly 8000 square miles live only 17 bands, comprising 447 persons. The other bands and employed groups live on what we call the periphery of the region. The !Kung say that one cannot eat the ground itself so it does not matter to whom it belongs. It is the patches of veldkos that are clearly and jealously owned, and the territories are shaped in a general way around these patches. The !Kung of the interior have settled themselves in such a way that every band has access to areas of edible roots and to either a mangetti grove or a *tsi* patch. A few bands have both.

The strong concepts of ownership of veldkos by the band operate almost like a taboo. No external force is established to prevent one band from encroaching on another's veldkos or to prevent individuals from raiding veldkos patches to which they have no right. This is just not done. Fear of fighting is one of the deterrents. The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly to man as to game and they are always at hand. A mere nick and a speck of poison in the bloodstream can be fatal. There are no known antidotes.

As skilled trackers of game, Bushmen develop their powers of visual observation and train their visual memories to such a high degree that they know everyone's footprint as well as his face. This is another deterrent, for no one could steal veldkos without leaving his marks and having his identity detected. Theoretically, in !Kung society the thief may rightfully be killed by the person or the band from whom he has stolen, but he may fight back, and relatives could also become involved and the fighting would spread. In the opinion of the !Kung, situations likely to engender hostility are assiduously to be avoided, to say nothing of actual fighting. Breaches of this intention are very rare.

Life throughout the seasons is planned around the veldkos gathering. The people know at what seasons the various veldkos will ripen and about how much each patch will yield if the rains have been good or if they have been poor. The !Kung are not, according to our way of thinking, exactly conservation-minded, but they do plan to consume their veldkos in advantageous order. They eat the perishable short-seasoned leaves and the few fruits as soon as they ripen. They leave until the dry season is advanced certain beds of roots and tubers that are edible the year around if they remain in the ground.

The headman of the band has the authority and the duty, according to !Kung social regulations, to plan the band's movements, to say to which veldkos area they will go and when, and, if the band separates temporarily into segments, to know where each segment is going and, in general, what veldkos it will consume. It is a matter of life and death to plan and control as best they can and not to travel for days, counting on food and finding that one segment of the band has eaten it all, unbeknown to the others.

Each type of veldkos and each area presents its problems of logistics, water being the determining factor in the plans, for usually water and veldkos are not in the same place. During the big rains and for several weeks after, the pans and vleys become shallow ponds and small, temporary water holes are filled. It is the time of relative plenty. The people find sufficient water to enable them to move about with comparative freedom in their country, wherever there is something to gather. When the dry season sets in, the problem is to carry enough water from the water hole to the veldkos area in ostrich egg shell containers and to carry enough veldkos back to the water hole. It is a ceaseless labor.

The distances the !Kung travel between water and fertile areas in these gathering trips vary from a few miles to twenty or thirty. The people do not manage greater distances except in the rainy season, when they go as far as seventy-five miles to a mangetti forest.

When the people go to gather mangettis or tsi, the men always ac-

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

in several different bands, and they may choose among them. A band that owned comparatively good resources would tend to attract more members than a band with scant veldkos. This flexibility of residence pattern is one of the reasons that one finds the bands of the interior of the Nyae Nyae region relatively in balance with their resources, and varying in size.

WATER • Two or more bands may share the ownership of a water hole. Water holes keep their own rough population balance because, if water is very scarce, people will go to live elsewhere when they have the possibility of doing so.

In the interior of this region, in roughly 8000 square miles, there are three water holes that can be called really permanent. In the driest years these do not fail. Four others dry up only in years of severe drought. Six more are semipermanent: in a very good year they may yield a little water right through, but in a dry year they are sure to dry up. When the semipermanent water holes go dry, the bands who own them may break up temporarily and the families may go to live with relatives who are at permanent water holes, or they may go as whole bands to another water hole where they have relatives.

Water is not owned as exclusively or as jealously as veldkos. Water seems to belong more to mankind, as the animals do, and the ownership of water holes emphasizes more the managing than the withholding of the water. The headman controls the water. His permission should be asked by travelers or visitors before taking water, "because he knows what he has and what can be done," we were told. We saw small temporary water holes marked with bundles of grass thrust into forked sticks. This was to tell visitors or travelers that the owners of the water hole were in residence, as it were, and were counting on the water. We believe that in these circumstances water would not be taken without permission. Occasions are not likely to arise where permission need be refused. The !Kung know where the others are, or are likely to be, at a given time and know how much water is available. They plan better than to get themselves into desperate situations.

One source of water appears to be owned by individuals. It is the rainwater that collects in hollow mangetti trees. The water in trees is not stolen by others who go to gather in the same mangetti forest. Water, incidentally, is the only beverage of the !Kung in the interior of the region. They have no alcoholic drinks and use no infusions of herbs.

HUNTING AND MEAT SHARING • !Kung hunting regulations do not confine the hunters to territories. The game animals belong to no one until they are shot, and the hunters may follow them anywhere the spoor leads and may cross the territorial boundaries of any band. If hunters have made a kill in the territory of a neighboring band, they would not fail to give a present of

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

meat to the owners of the territory should they happen to encounter them, but this is a gift, not an obligatory tribute. The vastness and emptiness of the country allow this freedom in hunting rights and the wandering nature of the game requires that the hunters, if they are to succeed at all, be free to look for game wherever they can find it.

The !Kung eagerly pick up tortoises, certain kinds of lizards, snakes, ostrich eggs, and grasshoppers, and they relish termites when these insects swarm out in nuptial flight. These items provide incidental delicacies and gathering them is like the gathering of veldkos. The person who gathers them may keep them for himself and his own family. Men gladly shoot small animals and birds if they happen upon them—wart hogs, duikers, other small antelope, porcupines, badgers, pythons, spring hares, ostriches, paouws, guinea fowl, red-winged partridges, occasional migrating geese, and other birds. They may keep them for their own families. They do not, however, devote their hunting time to the smaller animal creatures if they find fresh spoor of the larger ones. Hunting the big game animals that feed a whole band is the work of a man's prime and is incumbent on him.

Hunting parties usually consist of from two to four or five men. A man cannot hunt effectively alone in this country. Several parties hunting in different directions are more advantageous than one larger party. Any man may organize a hunting party, with relatives and friends from his own band or from neighboring bands—men he likes to hunt with. No one is formally a leader; the men talk and plan together and are likely to fall in with the suggestions of the one whom they consider the best hunter. Participation in any given hunting party is voluntary. What !Kung society urges is that the hunters hunt; it does not restrict the ways and means. The force of public opinion upon men not to sit in the werf, not to be lazy but to do their share, is tremendous.

The game the !Kung hunt deliberately and purposefully are the several big antelopes found in the region: eland, kudu, gemsbok, wildebeest, hartebeest, springbok. They also hunt the more rarely seen buffalo and occasionally manage to shoot a giraffe. Although there is this considerable variety of kind, there is not a great abundance of game. The herds are small and the hunts long and hard.[6] The antelope, because they can go for long periods without drinking, move and drift about anywhere in the vast monotonous veld and are very difficult to find. Hunters often search for days, covering scores of miles, before finding spoor fresh enough to follow, and they may follow it for days before catching up with the animal. Their little arrows kill by poison rather than by piercing deeply, and, when an animal is shot, if it is big, it may wander for three or four more days until it dies of the poison. Smaller animals succumb in a shorter time. The hunters must track the animal and find it before the lions, leopards, hyenas, jackals, or vultures devour it.

121 It is suggested that the delayed assumption of social
433 maturity by the young people and the support of the non-pro-
883 ductive elderly people are institutions which are possible
888
• 182 only in a society with a relatively secure subsistence base.

433 Water, Food, and Nomadism -- The special subsistence problems
312 faced by the Dobe area Bushmen concern the scarcity of water.
221
361 All of the eight natural permanent waterholes are situated in or near the beds of the main molapos. During the summer months, when temporary pools develop at a distance from permanent water, the Bushmen can move out to live at them. Except for a few weeks each year, the Bushmen spend their entire lives camped within an hour's walk of standing water. Only at the end of the dry season do some of the younger people undertake the long trips to the dry forests where they live by digging out the water-bearing roots. Since it is the custom of the Bushmen to return each evening to their main camps, it follows that areas within a single day's walk of standing water will be intensively utilized. Areas that lie beyond this radius will be rarely utilized even though they may be rich in food. The fact that the Bushmen can live well for most of the year within a six-mile radius of permanent water indicates that they do not lead a nomadic way of life. Each summer they move up-country to the seasonal waters and each winter they fall back on their permanent waterholes. In contrast to some Australian aboriginal groups, whose annual round consists of walking a circuit of many waterholes, the Dobe area Bushmen have a

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Chapter IV

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Tribe and Hunting Band

All the Bushmen in their native condition lead a nomadic hunting and collecting life, roaming about in search of the game and wild vegetable foods upon which they depend for their existence. The conditions of their subsistence necessarily prevent them from banding together permanently in any considerable numbers. Wherever they still retain to any marked degree their original mode of life and organization they are found scattered over the land in small separate communities.[1] Each such community will be spoken of here as a hunting band. The members of a band share a common life, they see one another constantly, they co-operate in many ways, and they are all as a rule friendly and on fairly intimate terms. Each band also has occasional relations with other neighbouring bands, through intermarriage and trade, and visitors may pass from one to another. On the other hand, there are often quarrels between neighbouring bands, which may result in a prolonged state of feud and even lead directly to warfare.

The various bands among the Heikum are generally referred to among each other by a name which indicates either the locality in which they live, or describes some physical or other characteristic of the band itself or of its locality. The *se-khoin*, for example, are the people of the *seb* or plain; the */gom-khoin* the people who eat the

[1] The social organization of the Bushmen is one of the least-known aspects of their culture, and sadly needs careful and detailed investigation. The most reliable sources of information refer almost exclusively to the North-Western tribes: Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 1907; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910); (Miss) D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," *Archiv Anthrop., N.F.* 21 (1927); *idem*, *The Natal*, 1928; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," *Bantu Studies*, iii (1928); L. Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," *J. SW. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, i (1925–6); *idem*, "The Bushmen of South-West Africa," in *The Native Tribes of South-West Africa*, 1928. The relevant literature on the other tribes is for the most part fragmentary, although some valuable data on the Namib Bushmen are given by Seydel, "Aus der Namib," *D. KolBl.*, xxxi (1910), and by Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910). Where no special reference is made to any particular tribe the analysis given above must therefore be regarded as applying especially to the North-Western tribes, who are also the only Bushmen still leading a fairly independent life.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

A somewhat different ceremony, also connected with the collection of veldkos, is held by the Kung.[1] Once a year, when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen at the beginning of the rainy season, the head of the band on a morning fixed by him calls together all the inhabitants of the camp before sunrise. He then takes up some faggots mixed with dry grass and straw, and all squat down in a circle around him. On the ground near the firewood lies a piece of wood, in which is bored a hole. In this hole is placed a freshly-broken twig of the wild fig-tree. A lit pipe is handed to the headman. He takes it in both hands, held palm to palm, and twists it about over the wood until its burning content falls on to the grass, which becomes kindled into flames. During this performance he repeats the following prayer to Huwe, a supernatural being: "Father, I come to you, I pray to you, please give me food and all things, that I may live." When the fire has burned out the members of the band scatter to seek the new bulbs, which up till now they might not touch.

These two ceremonies are the only ones on record indicating the presence of a special cult among the Bushmen in connection with the gathering of veldkos; but, as will be shown later, in all the Bushman tribes there are numerous other ritual observances and beliefs which may be regarded as centring in the sources of food supply, although they are somewhat different in nature from the two just described.

Water must also be fetched every day from the waterhole. This is generally the task of the children, but if the distance is far the women go, and occasionally even the men. The water is stored in ostrich egg-shells in one end of which is bored a hole which can be plugged with grass. These are carried about in a net of woven fibre or in skin bags. The stomach of a buck is also sometimes used as a water-bottle.

The supply of water is one of the most acute problems facing the Bushmen in the Kalahari and Namib Deserts. It affects their mode of life to a very considerable extent, for it not only regulates the migrations of the people, but also their cohesion, since, as we have seen, in many cases the different families constituting a band live together only in the rainy season, to scatter apart as soon as the dry season returns. Moreover, upon the supply of water depends the growth both of the veldkos and also of the grass upon which the game lives, so that the whole subsistence of the Bushmen is intimately bound up with it. This intimate dependence, as we shall subsequently see,

[1] Vedder, "Grammatik der !Kũ-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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finds expression in the numerous observances and beliefs developed in relation to the sources of water, and especially to the rain. Here, however, we may note how the Bushmen cope in practice with this ever-present problem.

Caches of ostrich egg-shells containing water are often buried in the ground or hidden in a tree for future use, and to steal them is one of the greatest offences in Bushmen life. When even these have given out, a substitute is found in various succulent plants, especially the */naras* and the *tsama*, which contain enough moisture to relieve thirst and which are still available for the first part of the dry season. In some parts of the Kalahari water may still be found below the surface at this time, and to obtain it the people make use of an ingenious filter. A hole is dug in the sand where the green colour of the grass indicates the presence of the subterranean water, and with a reed tube to the lower end of which is attached a bundle of grass they painfully suck out drop by drop the water that has collected below, then carefully transfer it to the egg-shell bottles. But when even this resource fails them, they are compelled to make hurried marches back to the permanent waterholes, to which they cling until the coming of the rainy season again enables them to move out into the sand veld and resume their normal hunting life.[1]

Industries and Trade

Industries

Besides their food, which they must find from day to day, the Bushmen have need of little but their weapons and utensils. Their household possessions are few, for they seldom own more than they can conveniently carry about with them, and all their industries are essentially domestic.[2]

From wood they make their huts, the staves of their bows and spears, quivers for their arrows, digging-, throwing-, and firesticks, the long barbed stick used for catching spring hares and other burrowing animals, the poison sticks on which the arrow poison is gathered in lumps after it has been prepared, the spits (sometimes

[1] Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 51; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 297; Passarge, *Buschmänner*, 51, 70–1, and fig.; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 671–3; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 293–4.

[2] The most comprehensive account of Bushman industries is to be found in Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," *Jb. städt. Mus. Vkde. Leipzig*, v (1911–12), 89–113, pl. xxiii–xxix, which relates chiefly to the Auen; cf. also van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements"; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 62–80; Passarge, op. cit., 81–94; Gentz, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 297–301; Kaufmann, op. cit., 152–3; Schultze, op. cit., 658 sqq.; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschi leute," 257; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 8–18 *passim*; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 103.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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immune to the effects of snake and scorpion poison.[1] One of these animals is killed, and its poison, diluted with water and urine, is rubbed in small quantities into small cuts made in the skin, or the poison sacs are pulped and boiled, and then swallowed in small doses. Schinz records an experiment made by himself on a Bushman doctor claiming this immunity.[2] He selected twelve scorpions and placed them, by means of forceps, on different parts of the man's body—hands, legs, arms, mouth, and testicles. Almost all of them stung the flesh deeply once or twice, in every instance causing a large drop of white matter to appear; then they crawled about leisurely, but made no further attempts at stinging. "The old man maintained that he felt no pain, and I have no reason to distrust him, as he would hardly have allowed himself to be stung by scorpions on the most sensitive parts of his body, merely to satisfy my curiosity, if the poison would have had any effects on him; even a full hour after our attempt the spots where he had been stung showed not the slightest change." This experiment seems therefore to show that there may be some foundation to the claim of immunity. The inoculation was apparently made in this case during the apprenticeship of the "doctor", under the direction of his master. Our main authorities on the Bushmen do not mention this practice at all, but I have myself spoken to several detribalized Bushmen and Nama in Little Namaqualand who claimed a similar immunity. Unfortunately I neglected to inquire further into the matter, beyond ascertaining the means of immunization.

Knowledge of Times and Seasons

In their system of time-reckoning the Bushmen make use chiefly of meteorological elements, based on recurrent changes in wind and weather, and of astronomical elements, based on observations of the sun, stars, and moon. Their larger divisions of time are the seasons, which, owing to their effect on the food supply and on the movements of the people, assume a pronounced importance in Bushman life. The division of the seasons is established by the rainfall. The Cape Bushmen distinguished four seasons, rendered by Bleek and Lloyd in the English equivalents of spring, summer, autumn, and winter, but the exact meaning of the native terms is not given.

[1] Campbell, *Journey in S. Africa*, 441; Thompson, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 399; Cornell, *The Glamour of Prospecting*, 232.
[2] Op. cit., 395–6.